

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 TEL AVIV 7665

STADIS//////////

FOR NEA/SAUNDERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER)
SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT'S TRIP: LIST OF QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTED
ANSWERS

REF: STATE 150629

FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTED ANSWERS AS REQUESTED
IN REFTEL. ANSWERS ARE DESIGNED FOR USE IN PUBLIC OR SEMI-PUBLIC
SETTINGS MORE THAN IN PRIVATE MEETINGS. WE WILL SUBMIT ADDITIONAL
ONES, AS EVENTS DEVELOP OVER THE NEXT WEEK OR SO.

1.

Q. WHY IS THE UNITED STATES HOLDING UP A DECISION ON MATMON C?
IS THIS NOT A FORM OF US PRESSURE ON ISRAEL?

A. THE UNITED STATES IS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING ISRAEL'S REQUESTS
FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THERE IS NO HOLD-UP. UNITED STATES
SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL FOR THE NEXT YEAR REPRESENTS 42 PCT.
OF ALL US SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE, 48 PCT OF ALL MILITARY SALES
CREDITS AND 56 PCT OF ALL MILITARY GRANTS DISTRIBUTED AROUND
THE WORLD. DECISIONS ON PORTIONS OF MATMON C WILL CONTINUE TO
BE MADE AS COMPLEX STAFF WORK IS COMPLETED AND TECHNICAL
SECURITY NEEDS REQUIRE. OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL
WILL CONTINUE NOT AS A

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LEVER TO FORCE ACCOMMODATION, BUT AS A REFLECTION OF OUR
FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT TO THE STRENGTH AND SURVIVAL OF A FREE
DEMOCRACY. IT WILL NEVER BE USED AS A FORM OF PRESSUR AGAINST
ISRAEL. NO ONE SHOULD DOUBT THE COMMITMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE STRENGTH AND SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL.

2.

Q. DO YOU EXPECT FUTURE PLANE SALES TO ISRAEL TO BE TIED TO PLANE SALES TO THE ARAB STATES, AS IN THE RECENT PACKAGE DEAL?

A. ALL US MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED ON THE MERITS OF EACH PROPOSAL OR REQUEST, AND EACH NEW REQUEST FOR MILITARY ITEMS OVER \$7 MILLION MUST BE CONSIDERED SEPARATELY AND INDIVIDUALLY BY THE CONGRESS, WHERE CONSIDERATION IS GIVEN TO THE PARTICULAR BALANCE IN EACH REGION OF THE WORLD. THERE IS NO PLAN TO SUBMIT ANY NEW PACKAGES TO THE CONGRESS.

3.

Q. WE BELIEVE THAT MAKING SALES TO ISRAEL DEPENDENT ON CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT OF PLANES SALES TO ARAB STATES WAS IN A WAY BREAKING A COMMITMENT TO SELL THESE PLANES TO ISRAEL, SINCE THE ADMINISTRATION SUGGESTED IT MIGHT NOT SELL THE PLANES TO ISRAEL UNLESS CONGRESS WAS WILLING TO LET PLANES ALSO BE SOLD TO EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA. COULD YOU CLARIFY FOR US WHY WE SHOULD NOT SO INTERPRET THE PACKAGE IDEA?

A. THE UNITED STATES ENTERED INTO AN OVERALL, BROAD COMMITMENT WITH ISRAEL IN NOVEMBER 1975 (SINAI AGREEMENT) TO PROVIDE IN THE FUTURE A VARIETY OF ADVANCED WEAPONS, SUCH AS THE F-16. AIRCRAFT. SPECIFIC NUMBERS WERE NOT AGREED TO AT THAT TIME. THE UNITED STATES IS COMPLETELY LIVING UP TO ITS PLEDGE TO PROVIDE ISRAEL THE ADVANCED WEAPONS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN AN AMPLE MARGIN OF MILITARY SECURITY. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE FELT IT ESSENTIAL TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHO FACE LEGITIMATE THREATS. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT SUPPORT FOR EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA

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WILL HELP PROMOTE THE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE REAL PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WITHOUT THREATENING THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. THE LEVEL OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL WILL BE DECIDED ON ITS OWN MERITS, AND THIS ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE.

4.

Q. FROM HERE, IT SEEMS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ALWAYS PRESSING ISRAEL FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY, NEVER EGYPT. RECENTLY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAUNDERS SUGGESTED THAT THERE COULD BE NO RESUMPTION OF PEACE TALKS WITHOUT ISRAEL'S RECOGNITION THAT THE WITHDRAWAL PRINCIPLE OF 242 APPLIES TO ALL THREE FRONTS. IT'S ALWAYS ISRAEL THAT IS HOLDING THINGS UP. WHAT, IF ANYTHING, DOES THE US EXPECT EGYPT TO DO TO HELP GET THE TALKS GOING? IS THE US ASKING EGYPT FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON ANY OF THE MAJOR ISSUES?

A. IN ALL OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS, EVEN BEFORE SADAT'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM, WE HAVE INSISTED THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE CLEAR THEIR WILLINGNESS TO LIVE IN PEACE ALONGSIDE ISRAEL, IF NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO SUCCEED. EGYPT HAS NOW INDICATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO DO SO. FURTHERMORE, EGYPT NOW AGREES THAT A PEACE SETTLEMENT SHOULD ENCOMPASS THE FULL RANGE OF NORMAL RELATIONS. WE DO NOT AGREE WITH THE POSITION OF SOME ARAB STATES THAT THERE MUST BE PRIOR COMMIT-

MENT BY ISRAEL TO TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORY. RESOLUTION 242 DOES NOT CALL FOR THIS. WE ALSO HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE FAVOR CLOSE ASSOCIATION OF GAZA AND THE WEST BANK WITH JORDAN, AND THAT WE OPPOSE AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE.

I BELIEVE OUR PEACE EFFORTS OVER THE PAST YEAR HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY FAIR. YOUR GOVERNMENT FEELS VERY DEEPLY ABOUT THE QUESTION OF SECURITY, AND UNDERSTANDABLY SO. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE BEST ROAD TO SECURITY LIES IN GETTING THE DIRECT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS GOING AGAIN, AND WE ARE DOING ALL WE CAN TO HELP SEE THAT THIS OCCURS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 TEL AVIV 7665

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FOR NEA-SAUNDERS FROM AMBASSADOR

5.

Q. YOU HAVE FOR MANY YEARS BEEN A STRONG AND CONSISTENT SUPPORTER OF ISRAEL. YET, AS VICE PRESIDENT, YOU REPORTEDLY TRIED TO PERSUADE WAVERING SENATORS INCLUDING SENATOR MURIEL HUMPHREY, TO AGREE TO SELL PLANES TO SAUDI ARABIA. DOES THIS NOT INDICATE SOME CHANGE IN YOUR POSITION TOWARDS ISRAEL? HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YOUR SUPPORT OF ISRAEL AS A SENATOR AND YOUR ACTIONS TOWARDS ISRAEL AS VICE PRESIDENT?

A. I CANNOT EMPHASIZE ENOUGH THAT I AND THE PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY REMAIN, AS ALWAYS, DEEPLY COMMITTED TO ISRAEL, TO ITS SAFETY AND TO ITS PROSPERITY. FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND FOR BOTH PRESIDENT CARTER AND ME, THIS IS NOT ONLY A POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMMITMENT, BUT A DEEPLY MORAL ONE AS WELL. IN FACT THE MORAL ONE IS THE MOST BASIC OF ALL. MY VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THE PRESERVATION AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL COULD NOT AND HAVE NOT CHANGED. BUT WE ALL HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT REAL SECURITY CAN ONLY COME TO ISRAEL IF THERE IS A JUST PEACE IN THE REGION.

IT IS TO THAT JUST PEACE THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT- AND
YOUR GOVERNMENT AS WELL - IS NOW DEVOTING ITS FULL ENERGIES.
THE FAITH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN ISRAEL IS UNSHAKEABLE.
I HOPE YOUR FAITH IN OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL IS EQUALLY STRONG.
IT CERTAINLY SHOULD BE.
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6.

Q. DO YOU FAVOR SOME SORT OF SECURITY GUARANTEE TO ISRAEL
AS PART OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT? AND IS THIS NOW BEING
ACTIVELY CONSIDERED BY THE US?

A. SUCH A SECURITY ARRANGEMENT IS NOT NOW UNDER ACTIVE
DISCUSSION, BUT IF, AS PART OF AN OVERALL PEACE SETTLEMENT, SUCH
A SECURITY ARRANGEMENT WAS BELIEVED TO BE A DESIRABLE STEP,
THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE THE IDEA SERIOUS
CONSIDERATION.

7.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE IN ISRAEL BEFORE, YOU SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND
WHY IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW FROM THE GOLAN
HEIGHTS AND ONCE AGAIN HAVE A NINE-MILE WIDE CORRIDOR BETWEEN
THE SEA AND THE WEST BANK. NOW YOU AND THE CARTER ADMINISTRA-
TION FAVOR A WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE
1967 EXCEPT PERHAPS FOR WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS CALLED "MINOR
MODIVICATIONS". CAN YOU EXPLAIN THIS DISCREPANCY IN YOUR VIEWS AND
WHY WHAT YOU RECOGNIZED AS A SEICURITY PROBLEM FOR ISRAEL IN 1974
IS NOW NO LONGER A SECURITY PROBLEM?

A. OBVIOUSLY THE SECURITY PROBLEM REMAINS AND MY CONCERN FOR
ISRAEL'S SECURITY REMAINS AS DEEP AND SINCERE AS EVER. ENSURING
ISRAEL'S SECURITY NEEDS AND RECOGNITION OF THOSE NEEDS BY ALL THE
COUNTRIES INVOLVED IS A BASIC PRINCIPLE OF THE JUST SETTLEMENT WE
SEEK. AND THIS SETTLEMENT WILL REQUIRE AGREEMENT ON A DEFINITION
OF SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES FOR EVERY STATE, AGREEMENT TO
BE REACHED THROUGH NEGOTIATION AMONG THE PARTIES. WE ALSO BELIEVE
THAT AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT MUST DEAL JUSTLY AND HUMANELY WITH THE
LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS, IN WASY WHICH ENABLE THEM
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR OWN FUTURE AND HAVE
A REAL INCENTIVE TO LIVE IN PEACE AND SECURITY WITH ISRAEL. THIS
ALSO MEANS THAT THE PALESTINIANS MUST DEMONSTRATE THEIR WILLINGNESS
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TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ISRAEL. WE FULLY AGREE WITH ISRAEL THAT THE
NEGOTIATIONS MUST DEAL SATISFACTORILY WITH THREATS TO ISRAEL'S
SECURITY FROM AREAS OCCUPIED SINCE 1967 IF THEY ARE TO BE
SUCCESSFUL.

8.

Q. HOW MUCH CONFIDENCE HAVE YOU THAT A WEST BANK-GAZA PALESTINIAN HOMELAND, LINKED TO JORDAN, WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO SATISFY PALESTINIAN DEMANDS? AS YOU KNOW, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE AT THIS TIME THAT THIS ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PLO. HOW CAN YOU BE SURE THAT SUCH A HOMELAND WON'T EVOLVE INTO A RADICAL ENTITY?

A. THREATS TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY FROM THE WEST BANK OR GAZA MUST OF COURSE BE DEALT WITH SATISFACTORILY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. IT WILL TAKE TIME TO WORK OUT SOLUTIONS. THIS IS THE REASON WE SUGGESTED AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT, PERHAPS FOR FIVE YEARS, FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, ALLOWING TIME TO WORK OUT PRACTICAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AS WELL AS THE LONG TERM POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE AREA
ONLY THROUGH A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM CAN WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE MORE LASTING SECURITY FOR ISRAEL.

9.

Q. THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN LEBANON REMAINS QUITE UNSTABLE. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE PLO WILL SOON ONCE AGAIN BE IN A POSITION TO LAUNCH ATTACKS INTO NORTHERN ISRAEL. SOME ISRAELI OFFICIALS HAVE WARNED THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT REMAIN IDLE SHOULD SUCH ATTACKS OCCUR AGAIN. WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES WILLING TO DO TO HELP ASSURE THAT THE PLO DOES NOT RESUME ITS ATTACKS ACROSS THE BORDER, AND WHAT WOULD BE THE US POSITION IF ISRAEL RESPONDS TO SUCH ATTACKS?

A. LET ME SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY TO LEBANON AND TO THE RESUMPTION OF CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY BY THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND THE LEBANESE ARMY. THE UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL) HAS BEEN CONTRIBUTING TO THAT GOAL;
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WE HOPE ALL PARTIES WILL GIVE IT MAXIMUM SUPPORT.
ATTACKS ACROSS THE SOUTHERN BORDER WOULD NOT FURTHER THE CAUSE OF PEACE OR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD DEAL WITH THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS.

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STADIS//////////

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 15)

FOR NEA-SAUNDERS FROM AMBASSADOR

10.

Q. THE US OFTEN SPEAKS OF THE MODERATION OF SAUDIA ARABIA. COULD YOU GIVE US SOME EVIDENCE OF THAT MODERATION, KEEPING IN MIND THAT IT IS SAUDI ARABIA WHICH IS PRINCIPAL SUPPLIER FO FUNDS TO THE PLO AND THAT SAUDI ARABIA DID NOT GIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT TO THE INITIATES OF SADAT?

A. SAUDI ARABIA HAS PREFERRED TO USE ITS INFLUENCE FOR MODERATION IN QUIET WAYS. IT HAS GIVEN SUPPORT TO PRESIDENT SADAT AND OF COURSE PROVIDES EGYPT WITH \$2BILLION OF ASSISTANCE ANNUALLY. IN MANY WAYS, BOTH POLITICLCLY AND ECONOMICALLY, SAUDI ARABIA PLAYS AN INFLUENTIAL AND MODERATING ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. ITS ATTITUDE ON A VARIETY OF GLOVAL ISSUES AND POSSIBLE THREATS TO STABILITY IN THE GULF AREA AND IN THE HORN OF AFRICA ARE QUITE SIMILAR TO OUR OWN- AND IN FACT ARE NOT DISSIMILAR PERHAPS FROM THOSE OF ISRAEL ITSELF. IN THE LONGER RUN, THERE COULD BE NEW PATTERNS OF CONVERGING INTERESTS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOME OF ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING SAUDI ARABIA, IF PEACE CAN BE ACHIEVED.

11.

Q. ISRAEL HAS BEEN EXPLOITING OIL IN THE SINAI FOR SOME
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TIME NOW. AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY TOOK A STAND OPPOSING SUCH EXPLOITATION OF OCCUPIED LANDS, AND THE US CLAIMS ISRAELI DRILLING IS ILLEGAL. DOES THE UNITED STATES INTEND TO TRY TO PERSUADE ISRAEL TO STOP THIS EXPLOITATION?

A. THEKKT RAEI GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN INFORMED OF THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THIS ISSUE; AND WE HAVE EXPLAINED THAT POSITION IN PUBLIC FROM TIME TO TIME. I DON'T THINK IT IS NECESSARY FOR ME TO GO INTO THAT SUBJECT AGAIN.

12.

Q. CAN YOU EXPLAIN IN GREATER DETAIL HOW THIS NEWLY EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM IS GOING TO BE FUNDED? IS IT BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS? HOW DOES IT RELATE TO THE PRESENT EXCHANGE PROGRAM RUN UNDER THE FULBRIGHT ACT?

A. THIS IS NOW BEING DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. ESSENTIALLY, WHAT THE US ADMINISTRATION PROPOSES TO DO IS TO TAKE SOME OF THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE LOANS BEING REPAYED TO THE US BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AND PLACE THEM IN A SPECIAL FUND TO SUPPORT VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROJECTS, IN AMERICAN STUDIES, ISRAELI STUDIES AND IN THE CREATIVE ARTS AND IN OTHER FIELDS OF INTEREST TO BOTH SOCIETIES. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WOULD MAKE AVAILABLE A SIMILAR AMOUNT FOR SIMILAR PURPOSES. I AM PROUD TO SAY THAT AS A SENATOR, I INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO ACHIEVE THIS VERY PURPOSE SOME YEARS AGO. I AM DELIGHTED THAT AS VICE PRESIDENT, I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PLAY A PART, WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, IN REACHING AGREEMENT TO SET UP SUCH A NEW FUND, IN HONOR OF ISRAEL'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY (AND OF MY LATE GREAT MENTOR AND COLLEAGUE, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY). THE NEW FUND WILL BE ADMINISTERED, UNDER A NEW AGREEMENT, BY AN ENLARGED AND TRULY BINATIONAL UNITED STATES-ISRAEL EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, REPLACING THE EXISTING FOUNDATION AND CONTINUING ITS EXISTING ACTIVITIES.

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13.

Q. DOES THE US PLAN TO UNVEIL ITS OWN PEACE PLAN, IF CURRENT EFFORTS TO FIND A FORMULA FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL?

A. THE UNITED STATES HAS AT VARIOUS POINTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHERE WE HAVE SEEN IT HELPFUL TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD, GIVEN OUR OWN IDEAS, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO WHERE USEFUL.

14.

1. DOES THE UNITED STATES STILL ENVISAGE A GENEVA CONFERENCE AT THE END OF THE NEGOTIATIONS?

A. OUR INITIAL EFFORTS FOCUSED ON SEEKING TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THIS REMAINS THE ULTIMATE FRAMEWORK FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

15.

Q. DOES THE UNITED STATES STILL WANT THE SOVIET UNION TO PLAY A ROLE IN A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT?

A. THE SOVIET UNION HAS LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND COULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE AREA. WE CERTAINLY WOULD HOPE THAT ROLE WOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE. AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NATURALLY PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, IF AND WHEN IT WERE RECONVENED.

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